

## **Article 9: The Barrier to Japanese Regional Power**

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*“Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”*

**Article 9, Constitution of Japan**

### **Introduction**

Developments within East Asia, over the past several decades, have created an environment that is ripe for change for the benefit to the international community. This environment also holds the potential of disturbances that could unsettle the region and affect the international community as a whole. Within this environment a regional power is needed to guide economies, current and potential, and maintain security. The options of the United States to accept this role is not acceptable as its resources are spread thin and its interests scattered.

China has the potential to accept this position, but so does Japan. The Japan options would be a more acceptable option. The competition is fierce for significant regional influence but is constrained by many limitations by those involved. Of course there are numerous arguments and positions detailing the pros and cons of each possibility, each are hindered by several internal factors. While China is still developing its potential through a rising economy, internally Japan is hindered by security matters.

With most nations, security matters are primarily hindered by a lack of commitment, budgets, plans, and assets. Japan, on the other hand, is restricted by law. The 9<sup>th</sup> Article of the Japanese Constitution is an extremely restricting piece of legislation that has benefited Japan during its redevelopment after the end of World War II, but the restrictions emplaced by it are currently hindering its potential as a regional security guarantor.

There are numerous pieces of literature that takes a macro view approach on the potential of Japan within the region to rise as a regional power in the near or long term future. There is limited research on the sub national and national level associated with this argument, the limited literature is of the actions of Japan's internal decision making on this issue. Since discussion of the subject is a sensitive topic due to its implied actions.

Although Japan is highly skilled and capable at providing monetary assistance throughout the region, issues of security are different matters. The ability of Japan to use its military forces for even humanitarian assistance is a tiresome ordeal fraught with legal issues and domestic concerns. The need to surpass these limitations is the first step in Japan's possible progression as a full regional power. The amount of literature on this particular issue has numerous gaps due to the primary focus of the current literature being on the international and regional level.

## Literature Review

Shinoda's *Koizumi Diplomacy* does not answer the specific research question, but provides an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the current situation in Japan's top policymaking apparatus, the Kantei. Shinoda's work describes the shifts in power that occurred within the past several decades as the Prime Minister, beginning initially with Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, began the shift from a bottom-up policy making apparatus, to the bottom-down policy apparatus (Shinoda 2007 20). This adjustment and realignment signaled a new beginning for the potential of Japan's policy-making.

Prior to this shift, the decision-making process was decentralized and easily burdened with potential delays by the various ministries and political groups in the government. With this new centralization, many actions were swiftly processed through the bureaucracy to include the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law in October of 2001 (Shinoda 2007 80). Shinoda identifies that this new structure increases the coordination of the policymaking machine and increases the influence and power potential of the Prime Minister and the Kantei. This is particularly important in the Prime Minister and the Kantei's ability to conduct coordination with the Diet and the various Ministries' in the government prior to proposing various resolutions. Another key point of interest is the Prime Minister and the Kantei possibly being the primary advocates for revision or removal of Article 9.

Gerald Curtis's *The Logic of Japanese Politics: Leaders, Institutions, and the Limits of Change* present a thorough understanding of the political institutes of Japan. Although

not answering the specific research question, like Shinoda, he provides substantial background information on actors within the study, specifically the profiles of, and interactions between the various political parties such as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) which have been the dominate political groups within the Diet for several years. Curtis identifies the interactions between these groups, the various ministries, and other administrative organs within the government of Japan which will increase our limited understanding of the actor.

In *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, Richard Samuels presents his position that Japan is more likely than not to increase its position within East Asia. Samuel's position tilt's towards Japan increasing it's influence within the region supports the possibility that Article 9 will be revised. Within Samuels study, numerous examples are provided that demonstrates the methods in which Japan has directly reinterpreted Article 9 and the potential of Japan adjusting the constitution further in the future.

In a response to speech on Japan new internationalism by the Japanese Consul-General Malcolm Cook provides invaluable input and perspective on the shift in Japan's internationalism. Agreeing with the Consul-General on several points, Cook identifies the shift in Japan's foreign policy towards a more regionally influencing position and provides his own professional outlook on the shift in Japanese foreign policy. Within the shift is the US-Japan Alliance which Cook proposes that Japan is attempting to refocus

the foundation of the alliance from security to broad regional purposes (Cook 2005).

This shift demonstrates and provides contextual information that supports the research.

The most abundant amount of available resources, used for this study, is resources that are focused on the separate actors that affect the research question, rather than the interaction of these actors on the conclusion of the research question. Richard Samuel's addresses the actions that have taken place to maneuver around, and through, the political and bureaucratic maze to increase authorities that are limited by Article 9. What is not addressed is the potential of the article being revised. The current literature tends to consider constitutional revision after the fact. This limitation reduces the full potential for the analysis of the situation to determine what could, or should, happen to reach to propose future that the current literature assumes. Unfortunately, a majority of these works are focused primarily on the international and regional level and do not provide enough specifics on the internal attitudes and strategic direction of Japanese policy makers on the Article 9 issue. And if they are addressed, they are limited.

Another weakness in the current literature is that a majority of the available resources are secondary, rather than primary sources. This weakness is the results of another weakness that limits the access to primary sources, the language barrier. The limited availability of material produced within Japan is primarily limited due to the language barrier.

Unfortunately, this is a barrier that will reduce our ability to properly evaluate the actors perspective on the issue.

## **Research Design**

For this study, the Lockwood Analytical Method for Prediction (LAMP) will be utilized to determine the most likely outcome. The decision to utilize the LAMP method is based on the nature of the research question and the actors involved. These factors justify and support the use of the LAMP model which was developed for the purpose of evaluating potential actions of actors, while considering the factor of “free will.”

The concept of “free will” among the various actors is the driving factor for the use of the LAMP method. Each actor within the study, the Prime Minister and Kantei, The Diet, and the Citizens of Japan, may be a representation of a collection of individuals, but collectively they have a free will independent of the other actors. Of course, the study could be supported by a micro approach with three separate LAMP analyses of each actor to improve the analysis of our macro picture, but that is not the purpose for this particular study, but could be a consideration for future research.

Another benefit of utilizing the LAMP method is the option of developing alternate futures, thus reducing the possible limitations of a singular outcome. Although a most likely scenario will be determined, the identification of focal events and alternate futures within various scenarios will allow for adjustment of the final analysis as time progresses and variables change. One of the key concepts of the LAMP method is that a potential “road map” can be constructed that can be followed by the focal events and indicators developed.

The LAMP method is an analytical process that is comprised of 12 steps.

1. Determine the issues for which you are trying to predict the most likely future.
2. Specify the national “actors” involved.
3. Perform an in-depth study of how each national actor perceives the issue in question.
4. Specify all possible courses of action for each actor.
5. Determine the major scenarios within which you will compare the alternate futures.
6. Calculate the total number of permutations of possible “alternate futures” for each scenario.
7. Perform a “pair-wise comparison” of all alternate futures to determine their relative probability.
8. Rank the alternate futures for each scenario from highest relative probability to the lowest based on the number of “votes” received.
9. Assuming that each future occurs, analyze each alternate future in terms of its consequences for the issue in question.
10. State the potential of a given alternate future to “transpose” into another alternate future
11. Determine the “focal events” that must occur in our present in order to bring about a given alternate future.
12. Develop indicators for the focal events.

Throughout the study, the LAMP method will be adhered to, while other steps will be combined as necessary due to the similarity and relationships between the steps (Lockwood 1995 27).

### **Step 1**

Step 1 of the LAMP method is the identification of the issue that we are attempting to determine, called the general research question. The purpose of the general research question is to provide a broad enough area of study that will allow the comparison of the national level actors without being too expansive while also not limiting the scope of the study. There have been several studies that approach the possibility that Japan will obtain a more extensive role in the security environment in either world or regional events. Many of these studies also project where and how they will become involved.

What is the major limitation of these studies is the analysis of the process that it will take for Japan to be able to move beyond the limits of its constitution and expand within the region. The purpose of this study will be to analyze the perspectives of the major actors involved within Japan and how they approach the issue. Will Japan reevaluate the 9<sup>th</sup> Article of the Japanese Constitution in the developing security environment?

### **Step 2 and Step 3**

For the purpose of this study, Step 2 and Step 3 will be combined within the next section. Step 2 of the LAMP method is the identification of the actors involved in the issue (Lockwood 1995 30). This is an instrumental step in the process which supports the remaining steps of the method. When a proper perspective of the actors is presented, follow on steps will be accomplished. The three actors within considered of the study are the ruling Prime Minister and the Kantei, the Diet, which includes the various political parties but is currently controlled by the LDP, and finally the citizens of Japan who are instrumental and the determining factor in the final decision to actually revise the constitution.

Step 3 of the LAMP method is an in-depth study on how each of the actors perceives the situation (Lockwood 1995 30). This step is completed by conducting a thorough review on the available literature pertaining to the subject and each actor's position. For the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet, the identification of their perspectives is much easier due to the documented actions and positions that they hold on the subject of Article 9. The position of the citizenry is a much more difficult endeavor which is



complicated due to a lack of a unified position statement other than national voting or opinion polls results which would be irrelevant after the fact for the purpose of this study.

### *The Prime Minister and the Kantei*

Since the creation of the Japanese Constitution and Article 9 within, the various leaders and citizens of Japan have discussed and debated the importance, validity, and longevity of its existence. For decades, Prime Minister's have been progressively adjusting their stance on the use of Article 9 throughout the decades to meet the needs of the nation. As has been proven in the past, times are changing and a further change could be possible for Article 9.

From the Yoshida doctrine to the Abe era, the use of Article 9 has been either a shield or a hindrance for Japan. For Prime Minister Yoshida, Article 9 was utilized as a shield to ensure a security umbrella provided by the United States which in turn resulted in a minimal expenditure on a national defense budget. This allowed Japan to build its economy securely while avoiding expeditionary adventures throughout the world (Samuels 2007 29-37). The Yoshida Doctrine proved successful as Japan's rapid economic growth following World War II is a tribute to this strategy.

Termed the "Yoshida Doctrine," this form of diplomacy came to a head during the first Gulf War when the efforts of the international community involved in the Coalition to remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, in equipment and personnel, were not matched by the Japanese government. Following the embarrassing ridicule Japan received following

this event; attempts at revisiting the interpretation of Article 9 began to slowly develop. But this was difficult due to the decision-making process of the time.

During the time of Prime Minister Nakasone, a shift in the power structure occurred. From Prime Minister Nakasone, Prime Minister Koizumi accelerated the change and further solidified the power of the Prime Minister and the Kantei. From a traditionally bottom up method of policy making, Prime Minister Koizumi was able to increase the importance and influence of his cabinet and other officials collectively termed the Kantei. This eventually led to a bottom-down approach to policy making within the Japanese Government (Shinoda 2007 25-28). Following this restructure, the Prime Minister's position was strengthened throughout the government which supports significant actions towards Article 9.

The shift in the decision making structure allowed the Prime Minister's Office and the Kantei to push for various efforts policy actions that either reinterpreted, or worked around Article 9. A majority of these actions were motivated by shifts in the regional security environment and external influence from other nations. Within the past decade has seen the most dramatic adjustments in the way that Article 9 is viewed. The authority granted for the significant amount of interpretations on Article 9 within the Prime Minister's Office, or Cabinet is a direct result of a Supreme Court decision in 1973 (Samuels 2007 46). The most prominent results of this decision have been the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Legislation, the 2003 Emergency Legislation, and the 2003 Iraq Special Measures Legislation.

Due to the Prime Minister and Kantei's close interaction with the international community, they have more visibility to the shifting forces within the security environment and the mood of the international community. Along with this increased, more personal, interaction with the international community the Prime Minister and the Kantei are the leading figures in determining the direction of Japan as a nation, especially in security. Due to their position, this actor is the most likely to either attempt, or influence the reinterpretation of Article 9 of the constitution. Prime Minister Abe had called for a new look at the 9<sup>th</sup> Article on the anniversary of the Japanese Constitution (Abe 2007). This view has been shown again as of September 2008 when the current Prime Minister Aso has again called for the reinterpretation of the 9<sup>th</sup> Article (Mainichi 2008). This position and the progressive adjustments to the former "Yoshida" doctrine demonstrate the potential for this actor to see the benefits, and possibly necessity, to either a revision or reinterpretation to Article 9.

### *The Diet*

The purpose of the Diet is to be the direct representative of the Japanese people. Like all democracies throughout the world, several parties compete for the role of the dominant party within the Diet. This power struggle has been continuously shifting between the various political parties that grow, develop, and change throughout the years. Within Japan, this is a much more fluid practice compared to the constant struggle seen between the Democrats and the Republicans within the United States government. Currently, the LDP holds majority control, more than two-thirds, within the Diet which allows a

significant amount of its positions to be pressed upon legislation and has held this position, with some turbulence, since 1955 (Japan 2003). Although the LDP has been in this dominant position, the pole of control that they balance upon has been a delicate task at times.

The LDP has been fairly consistent on its position concerning Article 9. The LDP has been at the forefront of debates striving for change to the constitution to allow more extensive operations for the current Self Defense Force's (SDF). Additionally, a majority of the significant changes that have occurred, that lean towards a more liberal interpretation of Article 9, have been under the direction of a LDP sponsored Prime Minister. The most recent example would be Prime Minister Aso's approval of the Maritime Self Defense Forces (MSDF) to support operations in combating the Somali Pirates (Japan 2009). This deployment's primary perspective, to the people of Japan and the international community, would be as a demonstration of support to a global concern. The argument of "doing one's part" within the international community will possibly be the justification for a majority of the attempts to reinterpret Article 9.

While not on the complete opposite side of the spectrum, but a seriously differing view, would be the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ). While the LDP strives to regain a more expansive role of the nation's SDF, the DPJ pushes for a revision that would allow the use of military force solely for the defense of Japan and use only minimum force (Constitution 2006). The position of the DPJ seems to be more closely aligned to the citizens of Japan.

With all of these issues considered it is difficult to determine a combined position for the Diet. It is most practical to view the combined position of the Diet as being open to the idea of revision given the right circumstances and conditions, domestically and internationally. This would also be included in the position of the current ruling party of the Diet which is the LDP.

### *The Citizenry of Japan*

Attempting to understand and present the collective will of a particular nation's citizenry is a difficult effort that can never capture all of the various nuances and opinions of a population. Over the decades that followed World War II the mood of the citizenry has ebbed and flowed on the issue of Article 9, but has remained fairly consistent in the pacifist camp. The people of Japan are aware that a return of the military would potential lead to expeditionary actions. If not on their own, then as a result of an alliance obligation to provide support.

To the people of Japan, the revision of Article 9 would signal the potential return of a significant military presence. Although the possibility of a return of the nationalist, militant society that the world experienced during World War II is not likely, an increase in the capabilities and role of the military would be a significant change to the people of Japan and the international community. The effects of World War II has left Japan a defeated nation that had lost a significant amount of people dead for a cause that was later deemed the result of militaristic ambitions. The citizens of Japan are not keen on the

possibility of this occurring again, and strive to demonstrate to the world what is possible through pacifist and humanitarian policies.

The citizenry of Japan, in the context of the Article 9 issue, can be more easily broken down into two types of groups, those that lived during World War II and those that learned about World War II from elders and textbooks. These vague categorizations attempt to capture the level and type of association that is felt towards the issue. The individuals who lived during World War II have been the most active in promoting the pacifist position and peace movements. The second group of individuals are those that never experienced the effects of a military conflict and have different motivations for opposition to the revision of Article 9 such as maintaining the essence behind the Article.

While there are those who do not support revision, there are those who do support revision, but in a limited fashion. This limited support for revision would include humanitarian missions or others actions that have been supported or mandated by a recognized international organization such as the United Nations. But that support ends at the hint of independent actions or expeditions that would go beyond multilateral or humanitarian efforts.

With all things considered, the perspective of the Japanese citizenry is to maintain the essence of Article 9. While this assessment may need adjustment as time progresses, the possibility that the people of Japan will support a revision that will result in the return of full military capabilities is not likely. A street survey conducted by the Asahi Shimbun in

2006 resulted in 77% disapproval to the revision of the constitution, a significant percentage (Constitution 2006). What is most likely to be supported is an expansion in nonaggressive capabilities and homeland defense potential. Along with the uncertainty of these positions is the reactionary nature of the Japanese citizenry that can result by a developing security environment.

#### **Step 4**

Step 4 of the LAMP method is the identification of the COA that are available to the actors of the study (Lockwood 1995 32). The key to the fourth step is to limit the number of courses of action to those that are practical, realistic, and do not overcomplicate the analysis. The weakness to this step is limiting of the COAs to a manageable level. It is acknowledged that there are numerous COA that can be taken by the actors but developing to expansive of a list will result in an abundant amount of “noise” within the analysis. For the purpose of this study, each actor will be limited to three courses of action each. Below are listed the possible COA available to each actor.

#### **The Diet**

*COA 1:* Support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 2:* Do not support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 3:* Reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

#### **PM and Kantei:**

*COA 1:* Support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 2:* Do not support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 3:* Reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

**Japanese Citizens:**

*COA 1:* Support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 2:* Do not support removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

*COA 3:* Reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

**Step 5**

Step 5 of the LAMP method consists of the scenarios for analysis. These scenarios are the context, or assumptions, in which the actors and the courses of action will be evaluated for analysis during Step 7 (Lockwood 1995 34). This will allow the analyst to focus on the evaluation of the COA for the actors within a likely future scenario. This step is lengthy but provides focus on the particular scenario and its alternate futures without being diluted by the other scenarios. There are three major scenarios that will be utilized in the comparison of the alternate futures. Although these scenarios are the most likely, at the moment, and could possibly change as time progresses and the collection of additional material and data increases.

*Scenario 1:* This scenario assumes that Japan makes a unilateral decision to refocus its strategy into becoming a leader within the region and refocus its energy in aligning strategically with rising China. This shift in focus requires expansion in the defense arena as Japan expands peace-keeping and nation-building operations to rebuild the region.

*Scenario 2:* This scenario proposes that rising tensions and potential conflicts within the region progressively become unmanageable with “soft power” tactics. With US interests



focused elsewhere on the globe, inadequate assets and focus are not available to Japan from alliance members in the eroding security environment. Although not requiring full expansion of its defense assets, minor reinterpretation of its strategy and adjustments to its capabilities must be made to accommodate the lack of adequate support from the US.

Scenario 3: This scenario assumes that due to conflicting interests that strain the US-Japan Alliance, the eventual erosion of the Alliance is at hand. Since the US has been providing a security umbrella for decades, Japan is forced to expand its defense budget in preparation of Japan's responsibility of maintaining its independent self-defense within the region. The need for defense expansion in budget, assets, and strategy will force the government to reevaluate Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

As can be seen, 2 of the 3 of the scenarios are dependent on external factors. The exception to this is the first scenario that is dependent solely on internal decisions that are preemptive actions for the strategy of Japan. Like Scenario II, the first scenario is dependent on the internal factors within the country but differs in that Scenario II is based on reaction of actions from regional activities reactionary. Scenario III addresses external regional variables but has a similar approach as Scenario II.

### **Step 6**

Step 6 of the LAMP method is the permutation of the "alternate futures" that are possible within a given scenario (Lockwood 1995 38). The reason for this is to ensure that within

a given scenario all of the COA within the scenario are given the opportunity to be considered within the analysis. For the computation of the number of possible alternate futures the following formula from the LAMP monographs will be utilized:

$$X^Y=Z$$

As described in the monograph; X will be the number of COA available to each actor; Y will be the number of national actors; with Z being the possible alternate futures.

Following the computations, we are left with 27 possible alternate futures for each scenario, as seen below.

X=3

Y=3 (The Diet, PM and Kantei, Citizens)

Z=27

### **Steps 7-12**

The next six steps of the LAMP method will be conducted with the proper sequence but will be presented compiled below. Below, all of the alternate futures have been subject to pair-wise comparison within their given scenarios with the results displayed below in descending order based on the votes they received. Following each table of pair-wise comparisons will be a description of the top five alternate futures for each scenario and the potential for transposing into other alternate futures.

In steps 11 and 12 the analysis is directed toward the given alternate futures within each scenario. At this point in the LAMP method, we will identify the “focal events” for the given alternate futures and the indicators that would identify which path the issue is steering towards (Lockwood 1995 28). Along with the previous steps, steps 11 and 12 will be compiled below.

## Scenario I

Pair wise Comparison  
Scenario I: Unilateral Decision To Adjust Strategy

Possible Future	The Diet	PM and Kantei	Japanese Citizens	# Votes
26	NSR	SR	NSR	25
20	SI	SR	NSR	24
21	SI	SI	NSR	24
27	NSR	SI	NSR	23
18	SR	SR	NSR	22
19	SR	SI	NSR	21
9	NSR	NSR	NSR	18
7	SI	SR	SI	17
2	SR	SR	SI	16
13	NSR	SI	SI	15
3	SR	SI	SI	14
4	SI	SI	SI	14
5	SI	SR	SR	14
8	SR	SI	SR	14
12	NSR	SR	SI	14
24	SR	NSR	NSR	13
25	SI	NSR	NSR	13
6	SI	SI	SR	11
10	NSR	SR	SR	9
11	NSR	SI	SR	8
15	SR	NSR	SI	6
17	SI	NSR	SI	6
14	SR	NSR	SR	4
16	SI	NSR	SR	3
23	NSR	NSR	SI	2
22	NSR	NSR	SR	1
1	SR	SR	SR	0
SR=Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
NSR=Do Not Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
SI=Support Reinterpretation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				

Scenario I considers the possibility that the government of Japan will attempt to readjust its national strategy without any provocation or external influence. The extent of the readjustment would involve either reinterpretation of Article 9 or complete removal.

Within this scenario it is assumed that the most likely actor to influence this action and be the driving motivator behind either revisions or removal would be the Prime Minister and the Kantei.

The absence of an external factor in the decision to readjust the current Japanese strategy makes this scenario the least likely of the three scenarios to occur. Although the Prime Minister and the Kantei may push for revision in this scenario it is less likely that there will be significant support from the Diet and especially the citizenry. While the structure of the Prime Minister's office and the Kantei allow for a much for defined picture of the environment, consolidated awareness of needs, and the potential for the nation it will not be able to develop the needed support without any external factors to rally the Diet and the citizenry.

*1. Alternate Future #26: The Prime Minister and the Kantei see the necessity for the removal of Article 9. Due to the unilateral nature of this move, the Diet and Citizens of Japan do not support the decision.*

This alternate future proposes that the Prime Minister and the Kantei will push for removal of Article 9. The unilateral nature of the removal of Article 9 will meet stern resistance within the Diet and the citizenry and will not likely see any consensus or compromise between the three actors. The position that removal is necessary is likely to originate within the Prime Minister's Cabinet for numerous reasons. Although external factors are not included within this scenario, the Prime Minister and the Kantei would

possibly consider the potential factors that would affect Japan in the future. Also, removal of Article 9 would improve the ability of the Prime Minister and the Kantei to react swiftly in the event it is necessary, especially when the need arises, in such cases as natural disasters or overt aggression.

The primary focal event for Alternate Future #26 would be the official decision of the Prime Minister and the Kantei to begin actions on Article 9. This focal event would be preceded with campaigning on the issue within the Ministers and the Diet to determine their respective positions. Additional indicators would be an increased amount of official studies originated from the Kantei on the affects of removal of Article 9 and other strategic issues.

*2. Alternate Future #20: The Prime Minister and the Kantei see the necessity for the removal of Article 9. Even if the Diet does not fully agree with removal due to the majority rule of the LDP, which is the Prime Minister's party, they are able to provide support through consideration of revision. This allows for a consideration of reinterpretation of the 9<sup>th</sup> Article by the Diet but the consensus is not held by the citizens of Japan*

As with Alternate Future #26 the Prime Minister and the Kantei will make an independent move to push for removal of Article 9 for the same, or similar, reasons as stated above. The major difference between Alternate Future #20 and Alternate Future #26 is that Alternate Future #20 considers the possibility that the Diet will provide

limited support for the action. This is assumed to be the result of the political party that holds majority rule within the Diet, The LDP, which is the party of the Prime Minister. Party politics will hold sway on the Diet's position. Due to the presence of the opposition coalition, led by the DPJ, the LDP will be only able to provide support for revision, not removal, of Article 9. As with Alternate Future #26, the government will not be able to build support from the citizenry due to the lack of any credible external factors.

Due to Prime Ministers position as the primary instigator of removal of Article 9, the focal events and indicators would be similar to Alternate Future #26 with some exceptions. The Diet's support of revision is the primary position that differs. This position will be indicated by numerous joint statements on the issue that represent a unified position. Another indicator could be an increase in bipartisan interaction to ensure that consensus is held within the Diet.

*3. Alternate Future # 21: The Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet have reached a compromise that the revision of Article 9 is in the nation's best interests. This position is not held by the citizenry who see it as the beginning of full removal of the Article.*

Alternate Future # 21 again assumes that the Prime Minister and the Kantei have seen the need to push for removal of Article 9. Due to the absence of any external factors, as discussed above in Alternate Future #26 the support from the Diet is not enough to attempt to remove the 9<sup>th</sup> Article. The Prime Minister and the Kantei determine that the

current environment will not warrant the type of support from the Diet that is needed and thus readjusts their position to align with the Diet for revision. This compromise does not extend to the citizens of Japan who, like in Alternate Futures #20 and #26, do not support any revision, or removal, of Article 9. This follows similar focal events for previous alternate futures but differs from the decision of removal to revision to ensure consensus. An indication of this action would be the mood of joint public statements on the issue.

*4. Alternate Future #27: The Prime Minister and the Kantei determine that they have no support from the Diet or the citizenry of Japan in any attempts to remove the 9<sup>th</sup> Article unilaterally. This causes reconsideration from removal to reinterpretation to allow for minor adjustments to the interpretation of Article 9.*

Alternate Future #27 sees the Prime Minister and the Kantei holding the same positions as before in previous alternate futures. As stated before, with the absence of any external factors that can threaten the security of Japan, they identify the total lack of support from the Diet and the citizenry. Without any of these threats, the Prime Minister and the Kantei attempt to approach the issue from a reduced level of effort and attempt to push for revision of Article 9. This would most likely be followed by a progressive media campaign to attempt to align the Diet and the citizenry with the Prime Minister and the Kantei.

Alternate Future #27 differs from other alternate futures in that the focal event of the official decision of the Prime Minister and the Kantei is the same event but is affected by

conditions prior to the focal event. Some indicators on the possibility that the Prime Minister and the Kantei will take a revision stance, rather than a removal stance, are the results of the Prime Ministers and the Kantei's campaigning attempts. Negative results will most likely result the acceptance of a stance on revision.

*5. Alternate Future # 18: The Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet have determined that the nation of Japan must readjust its national strategy preemptively by removing the 9<sup>th</sup> Article of the Constitution. This dramatic position is not support by the citizenry of Japan.*

In Alternate Future #18 the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet have both agreed that removal of Article 9 is in the best interest of the nation. This alternate future would have required a lengthy process of aligning the Diet to Prime Minister and the Prime Minister would have been the lead actor in the development of this position. The lack of an external threat would have called for extensive political maneuvering and campaigning within the government to allow the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet to arrive at a consensus that removal of Article 9 was necessary. As with all of the previous alternate futures, the citizens of Japan refuse to provide support and will most likely begin protesting these attempts at the removal of Article 9. These focal events and indicators would be identical to Alternate Future #27 but would be based on positive results from the Prime Minister and the Kantei's campaigning attempts on the Diet.



## Scenario II

Pair-wise Comparison  
Scenario II: Regional Tensions W/O US Security Support

Possible Future	The Diet	PM and Kantei	Japanese Citizens	# Votes
7	SI	SR	SI	24
3	SR	SI	SI	23
2	SR	SR	SI	22
20	SI	SR	NSR	22
21	SI	SI	NSR	22
4	SI	SI	SI	22
1	SR	SR	SR	21
5	SI	SR	SR	21
18	SR	SR	NSR	19
8	SR	SI	SR	18
19	SR	SI	NSR	16
6	SI	SI	SR	16
10	NSR	SR	SR	13
26	NSR	SR	NSR	12
11	NSR	SI	SR	12
12	NSR	SR	SI	11
13	NSR	SI	SI	11
27	NSR	SI	NSR	10
14	SR	NSR	SR	8
15	SR	NSR	SI	7
17	SI	NSR	SI	6
16	SI	NSR	SR	5
24	SR	NSR	NSR	4
25	SI	NSR	NSR	3
22	NSR	NSR	SR	2
23	NSR	NSR	SI	1
9	NSR	NSR	NSR	0
SR=Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
NSR=Do Not Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
SI=Support Reinterpretation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				

The second scenario that the alternate futures were compared within was a scenario that involved rising regional tensions. Scenario II assumes that regional tensions within the Asian-Pacific Region would give rise to a new, and more highly fueled, debate on the

issue of Article 9. The possible situations that could occur within the regional tension context could be an increase in hostile statements, or actions, from North Korea, an increase in hostility over the Taiwan Strait issue, an increase in the Senkaku Island territorial debate with Russia, or the growing power of China within the region. These are just a few examples of the many diverse possible situations that can be included as relevant external variables within the scenario.

The final factor considered for the pair-wise comparison is the reluctance of the United States to become involved. The type of involvement that is assumed not to be present would either be a more involved position within the US-Japan Alliance to reduce the need for revision of Article 9 or providing supplemental support to the various situations throughout the region in an effort to quell them. This is a considerable factor that will provide significant influence on the decisions of the three actors involved.

*1. Alternate Future #7: Tensions within the region have driven the Prime Minister and the Kantei to push for removal of Article 9. This is supported by a position of reinterpretation, rather than removal, by the Diet and the Citizenry.*

Alternate Future #7 proposes that the proposed regional situation of Scenario II will force the Prime Minister and the Kantei to push for the removal of Article 9. Using the premise of the lack of the United States to provide a more involved position within the US-Japan Alliance, the Prime Minister and the Kantei are able to build support for their position on the Article 9 issue. Even though there are rising threats within the region, the

citizenry is only persuaded enough to accept revision of Article 9. The reluctance of the citizenry is carried over into the Diet as the politicians align with their constituency. The position of the citizenry and the Diet may increase with the increase in tensions throughout the region. While external events will be the prime focal events, the indicators for Alternate Future #7 will most likely be an insignificant amount of resistance from the Diet and the Citizenry. Also, an increase in a media outreach plan on the issue would indicate the direction of the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the potential acceptance from the Diet and the Citizenry.

*2. Alternate Future #3: Tensions within the region drive the Diet to push for removal of Article 9 but the Prime Minister and the Kantei believe that Article 9 needs only reinterpretation to allow for the necessary adjustments for the defense of Japan. The citizenry agree with this perspective and support reinterpretation.*

Alternate Future #3 considers a different approach where the Diet is the principal instigator for removal of Article 9. This is a drastic position for the Diet to take which can be fueled by internal political turmoil or a differing perspectives of Diet members on the current threat environment within the region. This will be indicated by the mood and language of the Prime Minister and the Kantei's campaign on the issue. Being at the forefront of international relations for the nation of Japan, the Prime Minister and the Kantei are unable to see the justification for the removal of Article 9 and thus agree to revision. This position is carried over into the citizenry but requires extensive persuasion by the Diet and the Prime Minister and the Kantei.

*3. Alternate Future #2: Tensions within the region drive the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet to push for removal of Article 9. The citizens of Japan see the need for an expanded defense apparatus but do not support full removal, rather reinterpretation of Article 9.*

Alternate Future #2 assumes that both the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet determine that tensions within the region call for full removal of Article 9 to allow Japan to rebuild its military for defense of Japan. The reluctance of the United States to dedicate additional support during the rise of these tensions would provide additional support to both the Prime Minister's and the Diet's position that removal Article 9 is necessary. The citizenry is also influenced by the media and the positions of the other two actors and reluctantly supports revision but not full removal of Article 9. The focal events and indicators will be similar to the Alternate Futures #3 and #7 with the exceptions of the Diets interaction with the Prime Minister and the Kantei. Positive interaction on the issue will signify a unified position between the two.

*4. Alternate Future #20: Tensions within the region drive the Prime Minister and the Kantei to push for removal of Article 9. The Diet does not hold the same perspective but agrees that reinterpretation is necessary. None of these positions are supported by the citizens of Japan.*

Alternate Future #20 again places the Prime Minister and the Kantei as the prominent actor in the Article 9 debate. Due the increased exposure of the Prime Minister and the Kantei to the current threat environment and the reluctance of the United States to provided additional support, they feel it is necessary to completely remove the 9<sup>th</sup> Article from the Constitution so that the nation can be prepared for future conflicts. The Diet, with a limited exposure compared to the Prime Minister and the Kantei, feel that the region is indeed becoming more volatile but cannot support the position of removing Article 9, but revising Article 9. Unlike Alternate Futures #7, #3, and #2 the citizenry do not support the Prime Minister, nor the Diet, and take the position of leaving Article 9 at its current interpretation. This will likely be indicated by an increase in resistance to the positions such as protests in numerous locations against the issue.

*5. Alternate Future #21: As tensions within the region increase the Prime Minister and the Kantei attempt to reinterpret, rather than remove Article 9.. The Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet compromise with reinterpretation of Article 9 while the citizenry continues to withhold support for any action against the constitution.*

Alternate Future #21 assumes that the Prime Minister and the Kantei will be aware of the external and internal environment and considers these factors prior to making an official declaration on their position on the Article 9 debate. After considering the lack of support they will receive for full removal, the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet make a compromise to push for reinterpretation of Article 9. Like Alternate Future #20, this is not supported by the citizenry as they are not fully exposed to the external threat environment. This will be indicated by positive relations between the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet but resistance from the citizenry in the form of protests and other activities.

### Scenario III

Pair-wise Comparison  
Scenario III: Withdrawal of Heavy US Security Support

Possible Future	The Diet	PM and Kantei	Japanese Citizens	# Votes
7	SI	SR	SI	25
2	SR	SR	SI	25
1	SR	SR	SR	24
18	SR	SR	NSR	23
5	SI	SR	SR	21
3	SR	SI	SI	20
20	SI	SR	NSR	19
4	SI	SI	SI	18
8	SR	SI	SR	18
26	NSR	SR	NSR	18
6	SI	SI	SR	17
27	NSR	SI	NSR	16
19	SR	SI	NSR	15
10	NSR	SR	SR	13
21	SI	SI	NSR	13
12	NSR	SR	SI	11
11	NSR	SI	SR	10
13	NSR	SI	SI	9
14	SR	NSR	SR	8
15	SR	NSR	SI	7
16	SI	NSR	SR	6
17	SI	NSR	SI	5
24	SR	NSR	NSR	4
25	SI	NSR	NSR	3
22	NSR	NSR	SR	2
23	NSR	NSR	SI	1
9	NSR	NSR	NSR	0
SR=Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
NSR=Do Not Support Removal of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				
SI=Support Reinterpretation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution				

Scenario III places the three actors within the same security environment as was considered in Scenario II. The primary difference between the two scenarios is that the United States has made a full withdrawal from the US-Japan Alliance which results in the

slow and progressive removal of the military bases within Japan and their return to Japan. This provides a considerable amount of basing assets to be made available to Japan.

While the United States leaves some installations under US control, the amount of US assets within the country is not considerable enough to provide the traditional “security umbrella” that has been present since the end of World War II.

*1. Alternate Future #7: With the withdrawal of the United States security support to Japan, the Prime Minister and the Kantei push for the removal of Article 9 to allow for full expansion of Japan's military capabilities. The citizens of Japan and the Diet push for revision of Article 9.*

Alternate Future #7 assumes that following the withdrawal of the United States from the US-Japan Alliance the Prime Minister will begin preparations for pushing for full removal of Article 9 of the constitution. The Prime Minister and the Kantei will be the driving force behind the removal and will not be required to face much opposition to their position. With the removal of a majority of the United States military assets from Japan natural expansion of the Self Defense Forces is inevitable. This will be the driving force behind the argument the Prime Minister and the Kantei will use to remove Article 9. This position is not held by the Diet but they understand the situation and support revision of Article 9 to provide adequate defense of the nation of Japan. The citizenry of Japan will most likely align with the Diet in support of revision of Article 9.



*2. Alternate Future #2: With the withdrawal of the United States security support to Japan, the Prime Minister and the Kantei push for the removal of Article 9 to allow for full expansion of Japan's military capabilities. This position is supported by the Diet but the citizenry of Japan support reinterpretation to allow for the defense of Japan but limited expansionary authorities to remain within the spirit of Article 9.*

Alternate Future #2 follows the same results of Alternate Future #7 with the exception of the Diet providing full backing to the Prime Minister and the Kantei. This will most likely be due to either the majority rule of the LDP or the ability of the Prime Minister and the Kantei to conduct proper negotiations within the Diet to build support for their position. The citizenry will maintain a position of revision rather than removal to remain in the spirit of pacifism but acknowledge the need for homeland defense.

*3. Alternate Future #1: The removal of the United States from the US-Japan Alliance causes widespread concerns over the safety of Japan within a uneasy regional security environment. The Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet are able to rally support for full removal of Article 9 within the government and the citizenry.*

Alternate Future #1 assumes that full support for the removal of Article 9 will be consistent throughout all three actors of the study. This is most likely completed by thorough preparation by the Prime Minister and the Kantei in conducting consensus building in the Diet prior to full withdrawal of the United States from the US-Japan Alliance. With a united front upon the moment of the United States full withdrawal, the

Prime Minister and the Kantei and the Diet will be able to rally the necessary support from the citizenry to proceed with full removal of Article 9. This will be indicated by a lack of resistance from any of the three actors and a increased level of nationalist attitude within Japan.

*4. Alternate Future #18: The withdrawal of the United States from the US-Japan Alliance allows the Prime Minister and the Kantei to rally support for removal of Article 9 within the Diet. Not fully aware of the situation and consequences of the decision, they are unable to provide unified support for removal or reinterpretation of the Article.*

Alternate Future #18 is similar to Alternate Future #2 and #1 with exception that the citizenry will not support either the removal or reinterpretation of Article 9. This could be for three reasons. The first would be inadequate preparation by the Diet and the Prime Minister and the Kantei to rally support for their positions within the citizenry. The second possible reason would be that the Prime Minister and the Kantei determine that the situation calls for a national emergency and support from the citizenry is not necessary to proceed with removal of Article 9. The third possible reason would be the citizenry have rejected the calls from the government to support removal of Article 9 and are determined to support the continued existence of Article 9.

*5. Alternate Future #5: The withdrawal of the United States from the US-Japan Alliance drives the Prime Minister and the Kantei to rally support from the citizenry for removal of Article 9. The Diet is reluctant to support the removal of Article 9 but is forced to concede to reinterpretation due to the position of the citizenry.*

Alternate Future #5 proposes a different approach for the Prime Minister and the Kantei to gain support for removal of Article 9. Identifying resistance in the Diet to removal, or reinterpretation, of Article 9 the Prime Minister and the Kantei begin with building support within the citizenry for removal of Article 9. The added support from the citizenry places the necessary pressure upon the Diet to influence a shift in their position from no support to revision or reinterpretation to support for revision. With additional campaigning and debating it is likely that the Prime Minister and the Kantei and the citizenry will be able to push the Diet for full support to removal of Article 9.

## **Conclusions**

The various decision points throughout the three scenarios are similar but are mainly dependent on the external factors that will guide the decisions of the three actors. What is assumed is that the various external factors will guide the primary decision making of the actors, while their internal actions and relations with each other will be secondary influencers. This is based on the assumption that they will act in a rational matter to maintain the security of Japan within the context of the circumstances while ensuring the best interests with regards to themselves as a culture that has experienced pacifism for the past six decades.

It is proposed that the Prime Minister and the Kantei will be the driving force for either revision or removal of the Article 9 issue. Other common assumptions will be that the Diet will most likely follow the lead of the Prime Minister and the Kantei with proper preparation from the Prime Minister and the Kantei. At times, the Diet may act in the interests of the Citizenry due to its position as the representative of the people; the Diet will most likely be more prone to align, at least to a degree, with the Prime Minister and the Kantei.

The citizenry will not be easily swayed without an external variable that will provide adequate justification for revision or removal of Article 9 as a valid necessity. It will take a considerable threat to the nation of Japan for the citizenry to support full removal of Article 9. It is proposed that with the proper type and amount of campaigning from the other two actors that the citizenry's position may be swayed. The direction that the final decision will take will be based on the context of the current environment, be it the current situation, a rising threat, or withdrawal of the United States, and the interactions of these actors. The primary indicators for all of the scenarios and their alternate futures will be based on official statements by the actors or the type of interaction between them, be it negative or positive. But as is anticipated within the LAMP method, the potential of "free will" may affect these possibilities and drastically alter the analysis. It is proposed that the analysis should be revisited as time progresses for adjustment if necessary.

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